585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period
595 of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work. Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former
[589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

622 The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
595 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion
194 as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkikiima) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

837 The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bamí country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[622] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives,
[595] perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the
[609] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

586 If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

561 593 626 578 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

[539] ma tʂ'i matʂ'i, ma kɔ̃be ma,
I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matʂ'i = the imposed curse, a va matʂ'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tʂ'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otĩtɛ̃i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nĩme ma, -- ɔ̃ɔ̃ɛ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkũi: Chorus: mĩn.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

[201] At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indicate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the peocedure among the Jaunde -- [172] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

579 595 Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

578 publicly, as in the case of the paternal curse, or in the field
575 when the women are among themselves. /293/

769 A droll effect is created when the souls are cursed by their
578 descendants. The curse is pronounced at the ancestral feast if it is believed that the souls of the ancestors no longer care about the living, and the curse is also revoked on the same occasion. Although, as ancestors, the souls were more elevated persons who actually cannot be cursed, here is another instance where might comes before right, for after death the souls are powerless on earth, as we know.

578 Finally, there is a belief in secret curses, and thus, if people are constantly unlucky in life, they are sometimes afraid that they are being cursed by this or that person.

The most terrible curse is that which was pronounced by Nsambe (God) upon human beings when they commited the first major offense against his paternal will. As described in Volume II, page 59 /Ed., not translated/, the curse is symbolically erased during the cult celebration.

3. Children's Games (1)

524 [113] 1. See G. Tessmann, "Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe" /The Children's Games of the Pangwe/, in the Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 5-6, p. 250. The children's games are discussed there in detail.

I divide children's games into two major classes: the generally imitative games, and the independent games. Of the former I distinguish three groups: first, gymnastic games which imitate the movements of adults (running, sport, and dancing); second, war and hunting games which imitate the main occupations, not to say professions, of adults; and third, all the rest of the imitative games. The independent games, which are on a higher level, I divide again into three groups: first, toy games, that is, games that are played with objects and do not imitate any

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbou nzūi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[B32] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[B34] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

484 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particularly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

5: Balandier--65 E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

583 of the alliance. (5)
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5. Cf., on the importance of these facts of reciprocity and their role in so-called primitive societies, the remarkable work of C. Levi-Strauss devoted to the study of Structures élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, 1949.

581 As it circulates, the bride price weaves a network of ties
583 between groupings which, without the obligation of exogamy, would
578 have lived as so many biological, economic, and political units
595 retired within themselves. [124] It compels co-operation; it creates zones of security in a country where, at a time of conquest, the economic competition is severe (as regards the best land for cultivation and hunting, and the trade centers and roads). In addition the double exogamy multiplies these allié bonds, and the specific recognition of the maternal kinship reinforces, as we have suggested, these bonds. The circulation of women and in a parallel direction that of the bride prices have to be minutely regulated. This function belongs to the head of the nd'ə bót, to the mbí, the latter signifying not only "ancient" but also "arbiter, envoy, ambassador." He is custodian of wealth and giver of women. At the level of the segment of brothers (bobéŋ), the principle that bride prices received at the time of the marriage of daughters are used to marry the sons in the order of their birth is completed by the obligation of the eldest brother to contribute to the formation of a bride price necessary for the marriage of the younger brother who does not benefit by such a compensation. Certainly this principle which was meant to regulate the distribution of the women and to limit competition has not turned out to be infallible. Antagonisms between the "eldest" [brothers] and younger brothers leading to the breaking up of groupings are often explained by this obligation not being met. (1) The oldest men can take advantage of their pre-

1. Cf. supra, pp. 112-113.

eminence in order to buy up the greatest number of wives. Finally,

5: Balandier--68 E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

581 the younger brothers are often tempted to collect for themselves
583 the elements of a bride price or to carry out rapes or raids. They
578 represent the most dynamic and mobile fraction of the grouping. (2)
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> 2. Probably their lineages represent the major part of the Fang population of Lower Gabon. This would help to explain, apart from "modernist" reasons, the more or less pronounced rivalry and antagonisms between the "Fang from above" and the "Fang from below."

However, the earlier observations show that there was a sort of limited polygamy. Fourneau writes: "The Pahouin is in fact most often monogamous, simply because the woman is very highly prices," (3) and Dr. Cureau more specifically states: "Among the

> 3. A. Fourneau, op. cit., p. 77.

Fang where a wife is expensive, the maximum rarely goes above five; apparently thirty years ago, only the very rich could rise to one or two units above humiliating monogamy." (4) These two

> 4. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 119.

authors confirm the existence of a restricted polygamy and therefore of a tendency to equalize the distribution of the women which, according to them, is allied with the high cost of bride prices.

583 [125] It is now time to analyze the material nature of the bride price. During the nineteenth century it consisted essentially of iron objects (representations of assagais, Pahouin knives, and axes very reduced in size), of which the bikki are the best known, (1)

> 1. Cf. M. H. Kingsley, op. cit.; the ancient word for bride price is bikki, or newa bikki.

reserved exclusively for matrimonial exchanges, and of animals,

595 The first wife, married by mfañ aluk, a proper wedding, and called ôsua minga or ékômba, theoretically has a privileged position vis-à-vis the mimbom or co-wives. It falls to her to aid or replace the mother-in-law, ntyi, in her role of disciplinarian over the women of the nda. It is or was she who took over the training of the young immature brides waiting to reach puberty in her hut; co-wives of inferior rank therefore often looked upon her as their ntyi. This relationship of daughter-in-law and mother-in-law also exists between two mimbom when the nsuba of the second was paid with the nsuba received for the marriage of a daughter of the first, or when she was the object of a marriage by exchange for this daughter.

Against these legal prerogatives, we find the actual prerogatives of the favorite, nkpwek or ntômba (ntômba = ewe), who besides may be the ôsua minga, although this is rather rare. Custom recognizes the actual privileges of the nkpwek by limiting them so as to prevent them from becoming privatives of the rights of the other wives. I think, although I cannot state it for certain, that there exists, besides, a nuance between the terms nkpwek and ntômba, the first referring, as the word indicates, to an actual preference on the part of the husband, the second to a legal position which the most prolific of the wives would have, or perhaps the one of the best origin.

Let us remember that marriage does not remove a woman from her own clan to attach her to her husband's: she is connected with this clan only through her children, if she has any. These children and their bobenyañ will become bobekal to their matrilineal cousins. If the marriage breaks up without the woman having borne a child, a kinship relation between the two clans is not established.

Such a dissolution of a marriage may come about, first, upon the death of the woman when no éjian takes place, the substitution of a sister, which is rare today. The kinship tie between the clans is in force if children are born of the marriage; it remained in force in former times in the absence of children if the nsuba was not repaid. The husband's death ends the personal marriage tie but not the collective bond by virtue of which widows are assigned to the heir, as described above. /55/

One of the most frequent causes /sic/ of the dissolution of a marriage nowadays is divorce. This may be the husband's action: a suu minga jañ, he sends his wife back to her village. The grounds usually given are habitual misbehavior, sorcery, "bad character, "

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Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

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The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	80	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

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Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

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A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

6: Alexandre and Binet--169 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

Distribution According to Matrimonial Status

	Municipal Councilors	Sample of the Total Population of the Boulou and Beti Area (1)
	Percent	Percent
Polygamous	43	23
Monogamous	43	63
Unmarried	3	14

1. A random sample taken for the study of family budgets, 1954, op. cit.

That councilors are often polygamous is to be explained in terms of their relatively advanced age and their wealth.

As elderly possessors of wealth and polygamous, do the elected men embody all the traditional ways in contrast to a progressive younger generation? An examination of occupations, of educational level, and of religion reveals that the actual situation is more complex.

Distribution by Occupation

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of the Nyong and Sanaga Region (2)
	Percent	Percent
Chiefs	30	1.8
Planters	30	85
Office-holders	14	0.5
Trade employees	3	1
Traders	10	7
Craftsmen	5	?
Catechists, mission monitors	2	2.3

2. According to the annual administrative report; approximations are involved, Yaoundé-Ville being excluded.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the *évora bîéri*, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue on top of the *évora*. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

778 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the *bîéri* box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

778 224 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

778 224 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

778 224 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the